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Left Wing Section Socialist Party

GREATER NEW YORK

WHY THE LEFT WING IS CONTESTING THE PRIMARIES

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LEFT WING SECTION, SOCIALIST PARTY
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Bi-Weekly Letter to Enrolled Socialist Voters

SECOND LETTER

Enrolled Socialist Voter:

In our first letter we outlined the immediate causes for the formation of a Left Wing in the Socialist Party.

This letter will deal with the fundamental differences in PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS between the Right and Left Wings.

THIS CAN BEST BE EXPLAINED IN THE ATTITUDE OF BOTH WINGS TOWARD SOCIAL REFORMISM.

THUS: (1) THE RIGHT WING BELIEVES THAT SOCIAL REFORMS IMPROVE THE LOT OF THE WORKERS UNDER CAPITALISM.

THE LEFT WING CONTENDS THAT SOCIAL REFORMS ARE NOT BENEFICIAL TO THE WORKERS SO LONG AS THE PROFIT SYSTEM EXISTS.

The worker is robbed at the point of production; in the shop, in the mill, in the mine, in the factory, in the transportation industries, everywhere—FOR THE WORKER NEVER RECEIVES THE FRUIT OF HIS LABOR—HE IS MERELY GIVEN WAGES.

And since, thanks to the increased productivity of labor due to improved machinery, the supply of labor is far in excess of the demand for it, the capitalist pays for the labor he buys just as little as he can; which usually is just what it costs to produce the labor power.

WHAT THE WORKER MUST UNDERSTAND IS, THAT WAGES BUY JUST ENOUGH TO KEEP BODY AND SOUL TOGETHER in normal times.

In abnormal times, after a great war and the breakdown of industry, as at present, HIS WAGES DO NOT EVEN SUFFICE FOR THAT.

THE COST OF LIVING IN THE STAPLE NECESSITIES OF LIFE HAS GONE UP BETWEEN TWO AND THREE HUNDRED PER CENT IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS.

HAVE WAGES GONE UP TO MATCH THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING?

Not so you could notice it!

THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE DOLLAR TODAY IS ONLY HALF OF WHAT IT WAS BEFORE THE WAR.

EVERY WORKER'S FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES CAN TESTIFY TO THIS BITTER TRUTH.

If this is true—AND IT IS TRUE—OF WHAT USE, THEN, ARE SOCIAL REFORMS TO THE WORKER?

What does he want with HEALTH INSURANCE, OLD AGE PENSIONS AND OTHER SUCH TOMMY-ROT LEGISLATION when he cannot even get along on the high wages he is receiving today! WHY! SCAB CORPORATIONS LIKE THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY AND THE STEEL

TRUST GIVE THEIR WORKERS JUST SUCH REFORMS!

As for MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP and GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP—these reforms make a SAFE INVESTMENT FOR CAPITAL—as it insures a uniform rate of profit and guarantees against loss.

IT ALSO HELPS REDUCE THE BURDENS OF THE TAX-PAYERS.

BUT IN NO WAY DOES IT HELP THE WORKER TO SOLVE HIS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Many governments in Europe granted just such reforms—particularly—Germany.

Were the workers any better off?

On the contrary, they only proved to be chains to bind more firmly the working class to the SLAVE PSYCHOLOGY and permitted the governments to carry on their imperialistic designs UNMOLESTED BY A DISCONTENTED WORKING CLASS.

THEY WERE CAPITALIST TRICKS TO STEM THE GROWING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE WORKERS AND TO LULL THEM INTO FALSE BELIEF THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS WERE GOOD KIND GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED ONLY ABOUT THE WELFARE OF THEIR WORKING CLASSES.

ALL GOVERNMENTS, whether they be DEMOCRACIES or MONARCHIES, ARE CLASS GOVERNMENTS.

AND CLASS GOVERNMENTS CANNOT FUNCTION IN THE INTEREST OF THE VERY CLASS THEY SEEK TO SUPPRESS AND EXPLOIT.

(2) THE RIGHT WING HOLDS THAT SOCIAL REFORMS GRANTED OR WRUNG FROM THE CAPITALIST CLASS, IN THE FORM OF LEGISLATION, ARE SO MANY STEPPING STONES TOWARDS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND THE FINAL EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The Left Wing claims that this idea is part and parcel of the same fallacy that social reforms improve the lot of the workers under capitalism.

SOCIAL REFORMS ARE STEPPING STONES TOWARD STATE CAPITALISM.

THEY STRENGTHEN capitalism instead of WEAKENING it.

THEY FOOL the workers instead of AROUSING their class consciousness.

AND WORST OF ALL, THEY TEND TO FOSTER THE OLD DELUSION THAT THE PATH TO THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION LIES THROUGH THE BALLOT-BOX.

The Social Revolution cannot come through Social Reforms. It will come because of the breakdown of the rotten capitalist industrial organization; it will come through the intelligent class conscious efforts of the workers to bring it about. The Social Revolution

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must come because of the relative increase in the misery of the workers, because of the absolute increase of unemployed, because of the diminishing purchasing power of their wages AND BECAUSE ALL THE BEST INTENTIONS IN THE WORLD unless backed up by revolutionary activities cannot remedy these conditions in the least.

NOT SOCIAL REFORMS BUT THE REVOLUTIONARY MASS ACTION OF THE WORKERS WILL BRING ON THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION—THROUGH INDUSTRIAL UNIONS ON THE ECONOMIC FIELD AND A COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE POLITICAL FIELD, GUIDING AND SHAPING ITS COURSE.

Therefore the Left Wing holds that social reforms as stepping stones toward the social revolution is a fatal delusion and that the Right Wing in preaching it, is playing the part of an unconscious tool in the hands of the capitalist class.

(3) THE RIGHT WING FURTHER MAINTAINS THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, AND AS SUCH MUST ENGAGE PRIMARILY IN THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The Left Wing answers that the parliamentary phase of the class struggle is the least important and has value only insofar as it is used as a platform from which to PREACH over the heads of the legislatures AND TO THE MASSES DIRECT.

IT HAS VALUE ONLY AS IT IS USED TO SHOW UP TO THE WORKERS THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE STATE.

IT HAS VALUE ONLY AS IT IS USED TO OBSTRUCT THE MACHINERY OF CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT.

BUT IT HAS NO VALUE IF IT IS USED TO CATCH VOTES TO ELECT CANDIDATES TO OFFICE WHO WILL ATTEMPT TO ENACT SOCIAL REFORM LEGISLATION.

And finally it is positively harmful to the great masses of the workers in that it leads them away from the real BATTLE-FIELDS on which the class struggle must be waged—INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM on the economic field and MASS ACTION outside of the capitalist parliaments.

A revolutionary political organization should, by all means, participate in the parliamentary struggle; but it must engage in it with the clear idea of using it AS PROPAGANDA FOR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION—NOT IN CATCHING VOTES.

CANDIDATES RUNNING FOR OFFICE MUST SEEK ELECTION ONLY ON THE ISSUE OF ABOLISHING THE CAPITALIST STATE AND ESTABLISHING IN ITS PLACE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT—WHICH IS THE CLASS GOVERNMENT OF THE WORKERS, BY THE WORKERS AND FOR THE WORKERS.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS—such as six-hour day, higher wages, better working conditions—must be fought out by the working class directly on the economic field through their industrial organizations.

SUCH DIRECT INDUSTRIAL ACTION has a three-fold advantage over parliamentary legislation: first, it USUALLY GETS what it goes after; second, it teaches the workers CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOLIDARITY; third, it instills in them revolutionary ideals by proving to them THEIR OWN ORGANIZED POWER AND HOW TO USE IT.

Therefore the Left Wing REJECTS the proposition that a political organization of REVOLUTIONARY

SOCIALISM must participate primarily in the parliamentary struggles of the working class, and MAINTAINS that it must use EVERY AVENUE OF SOCIAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE to spread its propaganda of revolution and instill the KNOWLEDGE and awaken the CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOLIDARITY IN THE WORKERS WITH WHICH TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION.

(4) THE RIGHT WING CLAIMS THAT IT MUST CONCENTRATE ITS ACTIVITIES ON CAPTURING THE CAPITALIST STATE THROUGH A SERIES OF GRADUAL VICTORIES AT THE BALLOT-BOX, AND THEN SOME FINE DAY THE WORKERS WILL WAKE UP TO FIND THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONING WITH A SOCIALIST PRESIDENT, CONGRESS AND SUPREME COURT.

This proposition is the very crux of the difference between the Right and Left Wings.

The Right Wing believes that the capitalist state (which is an outgrowth of the capitalist mode of production) can be so changed (*reformed*) that it can be used by the working class to usher in the Socialist Commonwealth. All that is necessary from their point of view, is to get a majority of the votes and PRESTO! the capitalist class is overthrown.

This is sheer nonsense.

THE LEFT WING HOLDS THAT THE CAPITALIST STATE IS AN INSTRUMENT OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND CAN BE USED BY NO OTHER CLASS.

It was born out of the conditions necessary for capitalist development after the downfall of feudalism.

When the MIDDLE CLASSES overthrew the FEUDAL CLASSES it also abolished the FEUDAL STATE, BECAUSE THE MIDDLE CLASSES COULD NOT USE THE FEUDAL STATE FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES.

THE KINGS, THE NOBLES AND THE PRIESTS were the only classes that had any right under feudalism.

THE MIDDLE CLASSES (MERCHANTS and TRADESMEN) the nucleus of the present capitalist class, had no rights whatever. Their property could be confiscated at any time; they had to pay heavy bribes to the robber-barons who controlled the highways in order to transport their merchandise. They were robbed of their wealth by kings, military and priests.

Trade and commerce could not develop under such conditions.

ABSOLUTE AUTOCRACY the basis of the feudal state had to be abolished and its place taken by CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, the basis of the capitalist state.

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS gave way to THE SACRED RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

Since Socialism does not recognize property rights in the ownership of the means of production and distribution IT FOLLOWS THAT THE CAPITALIST STATE WILL HAVE TO BE ABOLISHED AND IN ITS PLACE ERECTED A STATE BASED UPON THE SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

But Socialism cannot be inaugurated immediately upon the accession of the working class to power.

The struggle for power between the working class and the capitalist class during the revolutionary crisis will have to be fought through the workers revolu-

tionary organizations (Councils or Soviet of Workers and Soldiers) and these Councils or Soviets will assume the powers of state for the workers.

Its task will be two-fold: TO KEEP THE FRUITS OF THE REVOLUTION FOR THE WORKING CLASS ONLY. TO BEGIN THE IMMEDIATE PHYSICAL EXPROPRIATION OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

ONLY UNDER THE PROTECTION OF A WORKERS SOVIET GOVERNMENT CAN THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM TAKE PLACE.

The Right Wing believes, or pretends to believe, that Socialism can be ushered in through the present capitalist state.

The Left Wing maintains that the capitalist state MUST BE ABOLISHED and a workers government THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT take its place.

The Left Wing is in the process of forming a COMMUNIST PARTY.

This COMMUNIST PARTY will be the advance guard of the class conscious workers and revolutionists.

THIS COMMUNIST PARTY will affiliate only with THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, with which are affiliated the COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA (BOLSHEVIKI) and THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF GERMANY (SPARTACANS) and THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF HUNGARY.

IT WILL SHAPE ITS PROPAGANDA AND GUIDE THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKERS COUNCILS OR SOVIETS TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

IT WILL CONSTANTLY URGE THE WORKERS TO ASSUME FULL POWER—TO TAKE

THE STATE POWER INTO THEIR OWN HANDS—AND NOT FORM COALITIONS WITH THE LIBERALS AND OTHER REFORMISTIC GROUPS.

LIBERAL PARTIES, LABOR PARTIES AND MODERATE SOCIALIST PARTIES (RIGHT WING) DURING A REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS ARE BOUND TO BE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY, HESITATING AND COMPROMISING WITH THE CAPITALIST CLASS, TRYING TO HOLD THE WORKERS BACK FROM ASSUMING POWER.

THE MENSHEVIKI in Russia—THE MAJORITY SOCIALISTS in Germany are living examples of how Right Wing Socialists act during a crisis.

• KERENSKY & CO. USED MACHINE GUNS AGAINST THE LEFT WING SOCIALISTS, OR BOLSHEVIKI IN RUSSIA.

SCHEIDEMANN, EBERT & CO. ARE STILL USING MACHINE GUNS AGAINST THE LEFT WING SOCIALISTS OR SPARTACANS OF GERMANY.

SHOULD A REVOLUTION CRISIS DEVELOP IN THIS COUNTRY, THE RIGHT WING SOCIALISTS WILL CO-OPERATE WITH THE LIBERAL AND REACTIONARY ELEMENTS TO CRUSH THE REVOLUTION AS ATTEMPTED IN RUSSIA AND GERMANY.

THE LEFT WING, THE FUTURE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE THE BOLSHEVIKI OF AMERICA, WITH THE SAME AIMS AS OUR COMRADES IN EUROPE.

AND OUR SLOGANS WILL BE—ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS SOVIETS! DOWN WITH CAPITALISM! DOWN WITH COALITION! LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

Left Wing Candidates of Greater New York

President of the Board of Aldermen, John Reed

New York City		Justices of Municipal Court	
Justice of Municipal Court	45th District	Arvid Lans	1st District
2nd District	Fannie S. Horowitz	J. Kossove	2nd District
Members of Assembly		B. J. Farrel	3rd District
1st District	Harry Winitzky	Rubin Karp	4th District
2nd District	Elias Marks	J. Zooboauch	5th District
4th District	Rose Spanier	Mina Prause	
8th District	Benjamin Lipschitz	Emil Pinkney	
17th District	I. A. Goldstein	W. Winestone	
18th District	Fred Caiola	B. Steiner	
Alderman		C. Johanntges	
2nd District	Rose Pastor Stokes	Adolph Reich	
4th District	Louis Barfuss	Harry Hiltzik	
8th District	Karl Brodsky	M. Lenhart	
Brons		John Halpern	
Members of Assembly		Morris Zucker	
5th District	L. A. Greene	Kings County	
7th District	Belle Robins	Justice of Supreme Court	
Alderman		2nd District	
32nd District	H. Blye	County Judges	
Kings County		Joseph B. Boudin	
Alderman		George F. Maedel	
36th District	Guy Morton	Surrogate	
37th District	John Donahue	Sarah J. Lindgren	
38th District	I. Aronson	Sheriff	
39th District	Michael Gold	Nicholas T. Herbst	
40th District	T. A. Hopkins	Nathan Hyatt	
41st District	G. S. Rumpfer	County Clerk	
42nd District	R. Rydberg	District Attorney	
43rd District	Alex Sedivy	Alexander A. Doblin	
44th District	R. H. Goeller	Register	
		Bessie R. Scheff	
		Justices of Municipal Court	
		1st District	Max Spiegel
		2nd District	Frank Kuhl
		3rd District	Richard Haffin
		4th District	Ralph M. Jaco
		5th District	Fred A. Olsen
		Members of Assembly	
		1st A. D.	Charles Weisman
		2nd A. D.	Charles Brower
		3rd A. D.	Arvid Anderson
		4th A. D.	Ray Ragozin
		5th A. D.	Edward R. Ames
		6th A. D.	Bertram D. Wolfe
		7th A. D.	Max Lerner
		8th A. D.	Barth Jähren
		9th A. D.	Ben. Richardson
		10th A. D.	Ernst Appuhn
		11th A. D.	Mollis Rumpfer
		12th A. D.	Hugo C. Peters
		13th A. D.	Henry Pearl
		14th A. D.	Edward I. Lindgren
		15th A. D.	William Fales
		16th A. D.	Alex. Chalupsky
		17th A. D.	William J. Bearman
		18th A. D.	Fannie Jacobs
		19th A. D.	Ludwig Lore
		20th A. D.	Andrew B. DeMitt
		21st A. D.	Lena Mayers
		22nd A. D.	Harry Uswald
		23rd A. D.	Harry Watson